

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 05682 01 OF 02 201609Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00
PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 DODE-00 CU-02
EB-07 OMB-01 IO-13 NSC-05 NRC-05 OES-07 FEAE-00
ERDA-05 DHA-02 /100 W

-----013791 201637Z /43

O 201551Z JUN 77

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4309

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 05682

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, UR, GW, WB

SUBJECT: NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL: GERMAN BRIEFING ON
GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

REF: (A) BONN 10119 (NOTAL), (B) BONN 10162 (NOTAL),
(C) MOSCOW 8761

SUMMARY: DURING JUNE 17 NAC, PAULS (FRG) BRIEFED ON
GENSCHER'S RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW, INCLUDING HIS IMPRES-
SIONS FROM TALKS WITH MEMBERS OF THE FRG DELEGATION TO
MOSCOW. THIS MESSAGE SUPPLEMENTS REPORTS CONTAINED REF-
TELS. DISCUSSIONS FOCUSED ON BILATERAL SOVIET-GERMAN
AFFAIRS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC ISSUES, BUT SOVIETS ALSO
ADDRESSED DISARMAMENT ISSUES EXTENSIVELY, URGING FRG TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 05682 01 OF 02 201609Z

DEVELOP A MORE NATIONAL POLICY ON DISARMAMENT. SOVIETS
WERE VERY CURIOUS ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER AND PROBED
GENSCHER FOR HIS OPINIONS; HE DESCRIBED PRESIDENT TO THEM
AS ENERGETIC AND STRONG. PAULS REMARKED ON VISIBLE AGING
OF BOTH BREZHNEV AND GROMYKO, AND REPORTED IMPRESSION OF
FRG DELEGATION THAT YOUNGER GENERATION OF SOVIET LEADERS
SEEM TOUGHER AND MORE AGGRESSIVE. PAULS THOUGHT TALKS

CLEARED UP SOME FRG-USSR MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND RESULTED IN IMPROVED PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN GENSCHER AND GROMYKO.
END SUMMARY.

1. BERLIN: PAULS SAID THE TALKS FOCUSED ON BILATERAL SOVIET-GERMAN RELATIONS, AND THE IMPACT OF THESE BILATERAL RELATIONS ON OVERALL EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IN ADDITION TO GENSCHER-GROMYKO TALKS ON BERLIN (REF A), GENSCHER ALSO DISCUSSED BERLIN WITH BREZHNEV.

2. ECONOMIC RELATIONS: BREZHNEV FELT THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD ACHIEVED MUCH IN THEIR BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, BUT THAT THERE IS STILL MUCH TO DO. BREZHNEV STRESSED THAT AN INCREASE IN EAST-WEST TRADE WOULD BENEFIT BOTH SIDES, SINCE THE WEST NEEDS EASTERN RAW MATERIALS WHILE THE EAST NEEDS WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. PAULS SAID THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE SOVIETS ALSO RAISED NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, ALONG LINES REPORTED REF C.

3. DISARMAMENT: BREZHNEV SAID THERE HAD BEEN MUCH TALK BUT LITTLE ACTION AND IT WAS TIME TO ACHIEVE RESULTS. THE SOVIETS SEEMED TO CAST THEMSELVES IN THE ROLE OF TUTOR ON DISARMAMENT, ASKING WHY THE FRG HAS NOT DEVELOPED A NATIONAL POLICY ON DISARMAMENT. GENSCHER RESPONDED THAT DISARMAMENT POLICIES MUST BE DEVELOPED ON AN ALLIANCE BASIS. BREZHNEV WAS VERY SERIOUS IN HIS COMMENTS ON SALT, SAYING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 05682 01 OF 02 201609Z

SOME PEOPLE THOUGHT THEY COULD SURVIVE A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE, BUT THAT HE, BREZHNEV, DID NOT THINK ANYBODY WOULD SURVIVE, EXCEPT POSSIBLY A FEW AFRICAN TRIBES. BREZHNEV SAID THE PURPOSE OF SALT IS TO ENSURE THAT THERE WILL BE NO NUCLEAR EXCHANGE. THE SOVIETS ACCUSED NATO OF CONDUCTING AN ARMS BUILDUP, AND GENSCHER EXPRESSED SIMILAR CONCERN REGARDING THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP. BREZHNEV THOUGHT THAT EVEN IF THERE IS TO BE NO REDUCTION IN THE ARMS LEVEL, THERE SHOULD AT LEAST BE AN ATTEMPT TO FIX THE PRESENT LEVELS. BREZHNEV NOTED THAT FRG AND US POSITIONS ON MBFR WERE NOT THE SAME AND ASKED IF GENSCHER AGREED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. GENSCHER STRESSED THE SOLIDARITY OF ALLIED POSITIONS ON MBFR.

4. HUMANITARIAN ISSUES: THE SOVIETS AGREED TO DISCUSS ALL THE HUMANITARIAN CASES RAISED BY GENSCHER. THE GERMAN DELEGATION NOTED THAT DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER SEMSKOV APPEARED TO BE THE SOVIET OFFICIAL CLEARLY TAGGED WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. (PAULS COMMENTED PARENTHETICALLY ON RESTON'S ARTICLE IN JUNE 16 INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE ANALYZING THE ALLEGED DIVERGENT VIEWS BETWEEN BONN AND WASHINGTON CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS, SAYING HE

STRONGLY DISAGREED WITH RESTON. IN PAULS' OPINION, THERE HAS BEEN COMPLETE FRG-US AGREEMENT SINCE THE LONDON SUMMIT.)

5. CSCE: IN ADDITION TO POINTS IN REF B, PAULS SAID THE SOVIETS NOTED THAT ONLY THEY, THE FRG, AND THE US HAD APPOINTED PERSONS AT THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL TO REPRESENT THEIR DELEGATIONS IN BELGRADE. THE DEPUTIES WHO MEET ON CSCE IN BELGRADE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CHANGE THE HELSINKI ACCORD, ONLY TO FILL IT OUT. IN THIS REGARD, GROMYKO FELT THERE WAS A NEED FOR MORE WORK ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, SUCH AS TRANSPORT. THIS APPEARS TO BE A REFERENCE TO SOVIET DESIRES FOR ACTION ON ALL THREE OF THE "BREZHNEV"

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 05682 02 OF 02 201614Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00
PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 DODE-00 CU-02
EB-07 OMB-01 IO-13 NSC-05 NRC-05 OES-07 FEAE-00
ERDA-05 DHA-02 /100 W

-----013886 201636Z /43

O 201551Z JUN 77

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4310

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 NATO 05682

CONFERENCE TOPICS - THE RECENT ECE SESSION DEALT ONLY WITH THAT ON THE ENVIRONMENT.

6. PAULS SAID THE SOVIETS ALSO COMPLAINED ABOUT THE HARSH CRITICISM OF THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE WESTERN PRESS. GENSCHER POINTED OUT THAT THE WESTERN PRESS WAS FREE AND WAS OFTEN EVEN MORE CRITICAL OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS; HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS WERE SKEPTICAL OF THAT ARGUMENT, CLAIMING WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WERE NOT WITHOUT INFLUENCE ON THE PRESS.

7. THE MIDDLE EAST: FOLLOWING A BRIEF DISCUSSION ALONG USUAL LINES, ONE OF THE SOVIETS TOLD A GERMAN DELEGATE THAT THE SOVIETS HAD THOUGHT THE FRG SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THAT MOSCOW WAS TRYING TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE ON THIS ISSUE AND NOT JUST SEEKING TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 05682 02 OF 02 201614Z

8. SOUTHERN AFRICA: DISCUSSION WAS BRIEF. THE STRONG WESTERN REACTION TO SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA AND THE FRENCH/MOROCCAN REACTION IN AIDING ZAIRE APPEARED TO HAVE IMPRESSED THE SOVIETS, PAULS SAID. IN SEPARATE DISCUSSION THE SOVIETS ALSO APPEARED IMPRESSED BY THE WAY THE ALLIES HAD RALLIED AROUND IN HELPING PORTUGAL TO "DEFEND ITS DEMOCRATIC FORCES" OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS.

9. PRESIDENT CARTER: THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSION THE FRG DELEGATION DETECTED STRONG SOVIET INTEREST IN PRESIDENT CARTER. GENSCHER TOLD THE SOVIETS HE VIEWED PRESIDENT CARTER AS A MAN OF ENERGY AND WILL, A STRONG PRESIDENT, AND VERY MUCH A STATESMAN.

10. SOVIET LEADERS: PAULS REPEATED THE FRG DELEGATION'S OBSERVATION ON HOW MUCH BREZHNEV HAS AGED SINCE THE LAST FRG VISIT TO MOSCOW AT THE END OF 1975 (REF B). IN ADDITION, HE SAID FRG DELEGATES NOTED THAT GROMYKO ALSO DID NOT LOOK WELL. ONE GENSCHER-GROMYKO SESSION ENDED AT 1815; SOVIET DELEGATES LATER MENTIONED TO THE GERMANS THAT THEY HOPED SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS WOULD END PROMPTLY AT 1800, SINCE GROMYKO WAS UNDER STRICT DOCTOR'S ORDERS TO LEAVE WORK NO LATER THAN 1830. THE GERMANS WERE STRUCK BY HOW MUCH YOUNGER THE NEXT ECHELON OF SOVIET LEADERS APPEAR TO BE. THEY NOTED THAT THE YOUNGER SOVIET LEADERS SEEMED TO BE MORE CONFIDENT, AND ALSO SEEMED MORE AGGRESSIVE AND LESS TOLERANT OF WESTERN CONCERNS. ON OCCASION THE YOUNGER SOVIETS WERE EVEN INCLINED TO USE THREATENING LANGUAGE. PAULS SAID SOME GERMAN DELEGATES THOUGHT THESE YOUNGER SOVIET LEADERS MAY BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH AFTER THEY ASSUME COMMAND. PAULS THOUGHT THE WEST SHOULD BEAR THIS IN MIND IN ASSESSING THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 05682 02 OF 02 201614Z

11. PAULS CHARACTERIZED THE TALKS AS GENERALLY FREE OF POLEMICS. THE TALKS SEEMED TO CLEAR UP SOME MISUNDER-

STANDINGS, AND PAULS THOUGHT PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN
GENSCHER AND GROMYKO IMPROVED SOMEWHAT. STREATOR

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GW, WB
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 20-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NATO05682
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: n/a
Format: TEL
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770637/aaaabgpp.tel
Line Count: 226
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Message ID: e05f6479-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BONN 10119 (NOTAL), 77 BONN 10162 (NOTAL), 77 MOSCOW 8761
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2088427
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL: GERMAN BRIEFING ON GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW
TAGS: PGOV, UR
To: SECSTATE WASHDC BELGRADE MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e05f6479-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009